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*On the ELECTORAL STATISTICS of ENGLAND AND WALES, 1856-8.—MEMORANDUM with reference to certain portions of the PAPER read in February, 1858. By WILLIAM NEWMARCH, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Statistical Society.*

SINCE the publication in the *Journal* of the 1st March last which contained the Paper read before the Society on the 15th February preceding, several circumstances have contributed to draw attention to the statements and estimates I had been led to adopt; and from a variety of quarters questions have been addressed to me with reference to various portions of the inquiry. I gladly avail myself, therefore, of the facilities afforded by the appearance of this ensuing number of the *Journal*, to state, as shortly as I can, the results of further investigation and evidence on some of the questions raised.

During the last few months a large group of returns has been issued by Parliament relative to the Constituencies and the Suffrage. It has not been possible to observe any systematic course of investigation in these Returns, and hence they are, to a great extent, desultory. Still the amount of new information is large and valuable, and if carefully analysed might afford the means for finally clearing away many difficulties. At present, however, I must content myself with referring to no more than one or two points.

Among the most important of the Parliamentary Papers are two (118/59 and 171/59) obtained by Mr. Tite, under the title of Poor Rates. The first of these (118/59), gives for each County Division (and the represented places within it) in England and Wales the number of persons assessed in 1853 to Poor Rate, distinguishing the annual rateable values of the properties assessed into twenty-one classes; and the like classification is also extended to the tenements in respect of which the *owners* (instead of the occupiers) were rated. To some extent the Return is imperfect in consequence of parishes, among which are several large metropolitan parishes, having failed to send in the needful schedules. Notwithstanding these defects, however, the Return is among the most valuable that has appeared.

The second Return (171/59) is a publication, in a separate form, of so much of the materials of No. 118 as relate to Represented Cities and Boroughs *only*, but the figures given do not extend beyond the direct assessment of *Occupiers*, omitting the very large class of cases in which the *owners* are rated instead of the occupiers. Hence this second paper cannot be regarded as more than imperfectly collateral to the first.

But availing ourselves of the facts given in the Paper No. 118, we may expect to arrive, with some degree of accuracy as

regards the *Counties and Boroughs* (combined) of England and Wales, at the total number of properties, the *rateable annual value* of which is represented by the scales of rateable annual value composing the return, and by means of that rateable annual value we may approximate pretty closely to the annual letting value or rent. As a general rule (but with many local variations) the gross estimated Rent may be said to be about *one-sixth more* than the rateable annual value to the Poor Rate. Thus a rating of, say, 5*l.* would represent a rent of, say, 6*l.* In the following Table (BB) the ratings are so arranged as to indicate, as far as possible, the three classes of *House Rents* of:—(B) 10*l.* and above;—(C) 6*l.* and under 10*l.*;—and (D) under 6*l.*

(BB).—ENGLAND AND WALES.—*Counties and Boroughs, 1853. Persons assessed to POOR RATE (per Parl. Paper 118/59, Mr. Tite), in respect of Properties rated at the several Annual Values as under; and also the number of Tenements rated (not to the Occupiers) but to the Owners thereof.*

1	2	3	4	5	6
Counties and Boroughs (England and Wales) Rateable Values.	Occupiers Rated, 1853.		Tenements Rated to Owners, 1853.		General Totals, (3 and 5.)
	No.	No.	No.	No.	
(B) £10 Rent and upwds.					
£50 and upwards.....	272,000		1,000		
£10 and under £50....	711,000		22,000		
£ 9    "    £10....	60,000		11,000		
£ 8    "    £ 9....	81,000		19,000		
		1,124,000		53,000	1,177,000
(C) £6 and under £10 Rent:					
£7 and under £8.....	80,000		21,000		
£6    "    £7.....	97,000		55,000		
£5    "    £6.....	94,000		100,000		
		271,000		176,000	447,000
(D) Under £6 Rent:					
£4 and under £5.....	143,000		155,000		
£3    "    £4.....	195,000		197,000		
£2    "    £3.....	236,000		248,000		
£1    "    £2.....	208,000		223,000		
Under £1.....	53,000		48,000		
		835,000		871,000	1,706,000
		2,230,000		1,100,000	3,330,000

One of the first observations to be made upon this Table is, that of the 447,000 assessments of 6*l.* and under 10*l.* Rent no less than 176,000, or 38 per cent., were assessments on Owners; and that of the 1,706,000 assessments under 6*l.* Rent considerably more than half

were also on Owners. We see also that the rents of properties *under* 6*l.* exceed in *number* all other rents of properties *above* 6*l.*

In order to convert the results in this general Table (BB) into some satisfactory estimate of the number of Parliamentary Votes which would be yielded by the three classes of Rents, a variety of corrections are required. The title of the Return 118/59 describes it as a Return of "the number of persons rated to the relief of the Poor "in respect of property of the Annual Value of ——" It is reasonable, therefore, to regard the return as in effect exhibiting the number of different *properties or tenements* (whether houses, stables, sheds, fields, workshops, offices, and the like), assessed in 1853. At present the franchise is conferred in Boroughs where there is occupancy of a *property or tenement* of the *bonâ fide* value of at least 10*l.* annual rent. The occupancy is not limited to dwelling houses, and the proposals which have been made from time to time for reducing the minimum limit have all proceeded upon the same principle of attaching the suffrage to the occupation of premises or tenements, be they dwelling-houses or properties of some other kind. To arrive, therefore, at an estimate of the number of votes to be yielded, we need *not* attempt any conversion of the rents of properties into rents of dwelling-houses merely.\* But from the figures in (BB) *deductions* are obviously required on the following grounds, viz., (1) corrections as regards the number of female occupiers; (2) for properties vacant; (3) for occupiers absent; (4) for properties held by trustees or minors; (5) for properties held under lease or agreement for terms of insufficient length; (6) for occupiers receiving parochial relief; (7) for occupiers with more than one Parliamentary qualification in the same county or borough; (8) for occupiers who have not resided long enough to be entitled to a vote.

It is also clear that some *additions* are required to the figures in (BB) for:—(1) the omissions of certain entire parishes, as stated on the face of the return; (2) the further omissions which are inevitable in so large a collection of minute facts prepared by several thousands of parish officers in pursuance of an obligatory order which did not provide any special remuneration for the work to be done.

According to the best judgment I can form, an addition of 10 per

\* There is frequently no little confusion in the minds of persons who discuss questions of reform, as to the real nature of the changes proposed, or to be considered. Household Suffrage, for example, is frequently confounded with Rating Suffrage—but is obviously a much less extensive proposal. A Household Suffrage would give votes to those adult males only who occupied dwelling-houses according to some definition to be given. A Rating Suffrage would extend to all adult males who were rated either for dwelling-houses or for *any other kind* of tenement; and special provision would have to be made for the more than one million occupiers whose rates are paid by the *Owners*, and whose occupancy is, in a large proportion of cases, a letting from week to week, with a week's rent paid in advance.

cent. in each of the three classes of rents, (B) (C) and (D), may be considered to raise the figures in the table just given to the approximate true totals; and *deductions* of 20 per cent. from the (B) rents; of 25 per cent. from the (C) rents; and of 33 per cent. from (D) rents; will reduce their true total to the extent required to provide fairly for the eight species of correction just pointed out.

These corrections are worked out in the following Table (CC); and in col. 7 of that Table I have inserted the Estimates which I was led to adopt (Table (M), page 118 *ante*) in the Paper of February last, as applicable to 1859. It must not be overlooked that the results in col. 6, obtained from the Parliamentary Paper 118/59 apply to the year 1853, and that the estimates in col. 7 apply to the year 1859.

(CC.)—ENGLAND AND WALES.—*Counties and Boroughs, 1853. Results founded upon Parl. Paper 118/59 (Mr. Tite), of the number of Persons assessed to Poor Rate in respect of Property Rated at various annual amounts; with collateral cols. designed to ascertain the number of PARLIAMENTARY VOTES in 1853, according to the Scales of Rents as under.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Counties and Boroughs (England and Wales).	Poor Rate Assessments in 1853.					Estimate in 1859, (M <i>ante</i> p. 118.)
	Persons Assessed as per Return.	With 10 per cent. added for Omissions.	Deduct for Female Occupiers, &c.		Leaves Computed Votes in 1853.	
	No.	No.	Pr. ct.	No.	No.	No.
(A) Present Constitu- ency, Counties and Boroughs.... }	....	....	....	....	....	934,000
(B) £10 Rent and above in Counties and Boroughs .....	1,177,000	1,294,000	20	260,000	1,034,000	1,042,000
(C) £6 and under £10 Rent .....	447,000	492,000	25	123,000	369,000	458,000
(D) Under £6 Rent .....	1,706,000	1,876,000	33	625,000	1,251,000	1,310,000
	3,330,000	3,662,000	23	1,008,000	2,654,000	2,810,000

Allowing for the lapse of six years, from 1853 to 1859, the figures in this Table (CC) afford considerable confirmation of the substantial soundness of the Estimates I put forward in February last—at least as regards the two classes (C) and (D) of smaller rents. In the case of the larger rents (B), that is of 10*l.* and above, in *Counties and Boroughs*, it is manifest that the estimate of 1,042,000 for 1859 is below the truth. The increase in six years has certainly far exceeded the difference between 1,034,000 and 1,042,000.

And this leads me to refer to a portion of the February Paper, to which some attention has been drawn, I mean to Table (G), at page 112 *ante*, in which an effort is made to ascertain the extent of the additions which would be made to the present County Constituency by reducing the County Occupation limit from 50*l.* to 10*l.* The conclusion I arrived at in February—but as then expressly stated on grounds largely conjectural—was, that the addition would be about 108,000 votes, or equal to 20 per cent. on the present County Constituency of 502,000 votes.

Looking, however, at the facts as now ascertained for 1853, as regards the Rents of 10*l.* and above, it is to my mind clear that the estimate for 1859 ought to be raised from 1,042,000 votes to *at least* 1,120,000 votes; or in other words, that the effect of the later and more complete evidence is to fully justify us in believing that a 10*l.* County Occupation limit would afford, say 186,000 votes to be added to the County Registers; raising, therefore, the total entries in these registers from, say 502,000 to 688,000 votes, or to the extent of 37 per cent.

I have been applied to from several quarters to explain the grounds upon which I adopted in Table (M), page 118 *ante*, a final statement of the County and Borough Constituencies at the three classes of rents, very much below the total numbers which might seem to be indicated by the statements in a territorial form, contained more especially in Tables (H) and (K):—and I will repeat here the answer I have given to these inquiries.

I attach so much importance to the Territorial arrangement that I spared no pains to complete the several Tables on that basis; and for groups of Counties taken in peculiar divisions or areas of country, I have great faith in the approximate accuracy of the cols. in (H) and (K). But when a general statement had to be made for the whole of England and Wales, I could not overlook a variety of considerations which must necessarily modify to a large extent the results afforded by the general rules which had alone been available for my guidance. It was clear, for example, that large allowances must be made:—(1) for varying proportions of female tenants in different parts of the country; (2) for wide variations of rating-valuation and practice; (3) for wide variations in the number of vacant houses arising from peculiarities of occupation; (4) and on the same ground for wide variations in the number of houses occupied for an insufficient length of time; (5) for disproportions in different parts of the country in the accuracy of the materials from which the final returns were made up. For these and other reasons which will readily occur to persons who have occupied themselves in reducing into a tabular form results not wholly ascertained by actual enume-

ration, I felt that the reduced totals contained in Table (M) would best guard both myself and my readers against errors of exaggeration.

In the former Papers I have given summaries of the schemes of reform as regards England and Wales effected in 1832, and proposed by Lord John Russell in February 1854, and by Mr. Bright in January of the present year. We may now add a similar outline of the scheme as regards England and Wales, proposed by Lord Derby's Cabinet in the Bill introduced by Mr. Disraeli on Monday, the 28th February last, namely:—

- (1). *As regards Counties.*—(a) The present *freehold ownership* qualification of 40s. and upwards to remain as at present, but freeholds in Represented Cities and Boroughs to give votes for those Cities and Boroughs, and not (as at present) for the adjacent County; saving, however, the rights of all present holders of County Freehold Votes; and in order to check abuses, as regards Freehold Borough Votes to be held by non-residents prohibiting more than two votes in respect of the same “single tenement or individual plot of land.”†
- (a) The Copyhold and Leasehold qualification to be reduced from 10*l.* (as at present) to 5*l.*
- (b) The *Occupation* County Suffrage to be reduced from 50*l.* to 10*l.*, subject to residence for a year prior to 24th June.
- (c) Various improvements and simplifications of the

\* The Bill was introduced by Mr. Disraeli, on 28th February, 1859. The Second Reading was fixed for Monday, the 21st March. The Debate commenced on that day was extended over seven nights. The Division took place early on the morning of the 1st April, when the Resolution moved by Lord John Russell against the Bill was carried by 330 votes against 291—or by a majority of 39 in a House of 626—including Tellers and Speaker—a number only exceeded on one or two former occasions. The Division was analysed as follows: thus the *majority* was composed of Opposition members 327, usual Ministerialists 3, Tellers 2, making 332:—and the *minority* was composed of Ministerialists 259, usual Oppositionists 32, Tellers 2, making 293—or together 625. To this total has to be added for absent members, 7 Ministerialists, 17 Oppositionists, 4 Paired, Speaker 1, 4 for Sudbury and St. Alban's suspended—completing the 658 of which the House is composed when all the seats are full. Parliament was dissolved on Saturday, the 23rd April (the day after Good Friday), and most of the Elections took place in the following Easter week. Intelligence of the decisive ultimatum addressed by Austria to Piedmont reached London on Easter Tuesday.

† In six of the nineteen Counties Corporate (that is Cities and Towns which by Charter were Counties of themselves) the *freeholders* had gradually acquired a right of voting for the *Borough* member, and by a clause in the Reform Act this limitation of the Freehold Suffrage in these six places was continued. The places are Bristol, Lichfield, Nottingham, Norwich, Haverfordwest, and Exeter. In four of the Counties Corporate, viz., Canterbury, Poole, Southampton, and Ainsty of York, the freeholders therein voted for the adjacent county; but in the remaining *nine*, viz., Carmarthen, Chester, Coventry, Gloucester, Hull, Lincoln, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Worcester, the freeholders therein, prior to the Reform Act, had no votes whatever either for the Borough or County members.

present law as regards registration and payment of taxes and votes.

- (2). *As regards Boroughs.*—(d). The Borough *Occupation* Suffrage of 10*l.* to remain as at present, thereby assimilating the *Occupation* Suffrage in Counties and Boroughs by fixing a minimum of 10*l.* in both.

(e) No interference with existing Freemen, Burgess, and Livery Votes.

(f) The same modification of Ratepaying and Registration Clauses as in Counties.

(g) The Enclosure Commissioners to revise the boundaries of Boroughs, so as to include within them any suburbs of recent growth.

- (3). *New Suffrages for Counties and Boroughs.*—(h) Lodgers in apartments, furnished or unfurnished, at a rent of not less than 8*s.* per week or 20*l.* per annum.

(i) Persons deriving 10*l.* per annum, and above, from money invested in the Public Funds, or in East India or Bank of England Stock.

(k) Persons receiving Pensions of 20*l.* per annum, and above, from the Government or East India Company.

(l) Persons having a deposit of 60*l.*, or above, in a Savings' Bank in England or Wales.

(m) Persons being Graduates of any University of the United Kingdom; or Clergyman, Established or Dissenting; or Barristers, Attorneys, or Proctors; or Medical Practitioners under the Medical Act of 1858, or Schoolmasters holding the certificate of the Education Office.

- (4). *As regards Transfer of Seats.*—(n) Fifteen seats to be obtained by withdrawing *one* Member from each of the following fifteen Boroughs at present sending *two* Members each, viz., Honiton, Thetford, Totness, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Lymington, Ludlow, Andover, Tewkesbury, Maldon.

(o). These fifteen seats to be applied in giving *one* Member to each of the following seven places to be newly enfranchised as Boroughs, viz., West Bromwich, Birkenhead, Burnley, Staleybridge, Croydon, Gravesend, and Hartlepool.

(p) And the remaining eight seats to be applied in providing *two* Members each for *two* further County Divisions to be erected within the present West Riding of York; to *one* further County Division to be erected in South Lancashire, and to *one* further County Division to be erected in Middlesex.

- (5). *As regards Voting Papers.*—(q) Votes in Cities and



Boroughs to be allowed to be given by means of Voting Papers, according to regulations prescribed.

(*r*) Polling Places to be largely increased, and payment of the travelling expenses of voters to be prohibited.

The variety of the modes in which the Parliamentary franchise would be conferred under an Act fully embodying the scheme to which this outline applies render it almost impossible, in the absence of data specially collected for the purpose, to express more than a merely conjectural opinion as to the extent of the additions which would be made to the present County and Borough Constituencies of England and Wales.

The present number of Freehold County Votes within represented Cities and Boroughs may be taken at 100,000 votes. The Government Bill reserves the rights of the present holders of all these votes. The effect of reducing the County Occupancy limit from 50*l*. to 10*l*. would, as we have just endeavoured to show, place (say) 186,000 votes at the disposal of the County and Borough Registers ; presuming the revision of Borough boundaries to be carried out.

To this large increase must be added the very considerable augmentation to arise from the clause enfranchising Lodgers paying 8*s*. per week or 20*l*. per annum. The additions under this clause would be most considerable in London and the largest Towns, for the obvious reason that in large Towns house-room is so dear as to compel the hiring of portions only of a house. According to the Census of 1851 there were in England and Wales 3,710,000 "*families*" occupying 3,270,000 *houses*, that is to say, each 100 houses contained very nearly 112 families,—equal in the aggregate to an excess of 440,000 families. Since 1851 this aggregate has largely increased, but to what extent, or to what portion of the present total the Eight Shilling test may apply, I have no accurate means of judging.

The Savings' Bank Clause, conferring votes on depositors of 60*l*. or above, would admit a desirable class of voters. In 1856, in England and Wales, out of 1,142,000 depositors in Savings' Banks 182,000 were for sums of 50*l*. and above ; the returns do not admit of stating the proportion at 60*l*. and above. From this 182,000, large deductions must be made for females, minors, and trust and deceased accounts,—a deduction, taking the country as a whole, at least equal to one-third,—and allowing further for the higher range of the 60*l*. limit—reducing the 182,000 to probably not more than 80,000. Of this 80,000 a considerable number would of course possess votes under some of the other qualifying clauses.

The enfranchisement conferred on Government Pensioners of 20*l*. per annum and above, and on recipients of 10*l*. per annum and above from money in the Public Funds and East India and Bank Stock,

would no doubt admit some persons not already enfranchised as freeholders, occupiers, lodgers, or professional men. In 1857 there were 270,000 different recipients of dividends from the Public Funds of all kinds. Of this number 92,000 were recipients of annual sums of not more than 5*l.*,—and 43,000 of annual sums of more than 5*l.*, but not more than 10*l.* There were, therefore, 135,000 cases in which the payments conformed to the suggested limit of 10*l.* A large proportion of these 135,000 cases would of course be represented by females, trustees, minors, and absentees.

In 1851, in England and Wales, the following were the statements given as regards the number of Professional Persons (males 20 years and upwards).

Clergy, established or dissenting	26,000	Scientific persons	400
Barristers, solicitors, or other lawyers	15,400	Teachers	25,100
Physicians and surgeons	17,500		93,800
Authors	2,400		
Artists	7,000		

In these groups are no doubt included a very large majority of the adult persons holding the degrees of any British University. In 1856 the number of male persons holding certificates as Schoolmasters under the Council of Education was 2,900, and the number is yearly increasing. Nearly the whole of this class would be added to the register under the special clause in their behalf.

Considering the whole of the facts, and the extensive field so completely covered by the network of enfranchising clauses in the Government Scheme, and referring especially to the large operation of the Lodgers' qualification, it appears to me to be very probable that in the event of the plan becoming law it would, in the course of two or three years, increase the present County and Borough Constituencies in England and Wales to the extent of between Four and Five Hundred Thousand Votes.

NOTE—There has just been issued (Lords' Paper, 46/59) the Report and Evidence presented by the Select Committee of the Lords, obtained by Lord Grey in February last, to inquire into the effects produced on the Municipal Franchise by the operation of that portion of the Small Tenements Rating Act of 1850, which conferred the municipal franchise upon occupiers under 6*l.*, in the cases in which the rates were paid, not by the occupier, but by the *owner*. Under the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 the municipal franchise was acquired only by actual, direct, and continuous payment of rates for 2½ years. The Lords' Committee recommend an immediate return to that arrangement, on the grounds that the wide departure from it in 1850 is already producing the most serious disorder and corruption in municipal elections, is deteriorating the character of the persons returned as Town Councillors, and is leading to extravagance and mismanagement in the conduct of those bodies.

It may be added here, that according to a statement made by Lord John Russell a few days after the Division of 31st March last, a scheme of Reform according to his present views should provide for: (1) 10*l.* occupation limit in Counties: (2) 6*l.* in Boroughs: (3) *no* disfranchisement of Freemen:—and (4) the transfer of about 26 seats in England and Wales to larger places.